

Narrative

OF THE

FIRST VOYAGE OF JEAN DE RIBAUT, MADE IN THE REIGN
OF CHARLES IX., KING OF FRANCE, UNDER THE ORDERS
AND INSTRUCTIONS OF GASPARD DE COLIGNY,* GRAND
ADMIRAL OF FRANCE, TO MAKE DISCOVERIES AND
FOUND A COLONY OF FRENCH PROTESTANTS (HUGUE-
NOTS) IN FLORIDA, A. D. 1562.

CHAPTER I.



HEREAS, in the year of our Lord 1562, it pleased God to move your Lordship to choose and appoint me to discover and view a certain long coast of the West Indies from the head of the land called Florida, drawing toward the north

* GASPARD DE COLIGNY, Grand Admiral of France, Seigneur de Chatillon, was born at *Chatillon-sur-Loing*, February 16, 1516. He was distinguished for his learning and accomplishments, and at the age of twenty-five was Major-General of the French infantry, and afterwards created Grand Admiral of France. After the death of HENRY II., he espoused the cause of the French Protestants (Huguenots) against the Guises, who represented the Roman Catholics of France, and during the religious wars which drenched that country in blood, he distinguished himself as an able commander in several important battles. His sense of religious obligation was deep and fervent; and with him the maintenance of the reformed religion was not to cover a factious ambition, but was an object of the most serious importance, justified by his convictions;

part unto the head of Bretons,* distant from the said head of Florida † nine hundred leagues, or thereabout, to the end

to which he sacrificed the best years of his life, and finally life itself, in the Massacre of St. BARTHOLOMEW, 1572, in laboring to bring about peace. He was, in truth, always devoted to the great cause of human improvement, in all its forms, laboring during a long life for the advancement of truth, and maintenance of justice and order. He was, perhaps, one of the wisest statesmen that France ever produced. In 1555, he projected the enterprise to found a French Protestant colony in Brazil, hoping to find the double advantage of opening a place of refuge for the persecuted Protestants, not only of France, but all Europe, and enriching his own country from a colonial establishment. But after fitting out two expeditions, and founding the first European colony in Brazil, the whole scheme came to an end by divisions and disagreements among the colonists, and was finally subverted by the Portuguese, who, in 1560, sent out an armed expedition against it, and took possession of the colonial establishment in the bay of *Rio Janeiro*. This attempt to found a French colony in Brazil is particularly interesting, by the fact that ANDRE THEVET, a celebrated French traveler and cosmographer, who accompanied the expedition, was afterwards induced to visit the entire coast, both of North and South America, and particularly described the eastern coast of Florida, as high up as *St. Helena Sound*, in 32 north latitude. COLIGNY may be styled the Sir WALTER RALEIGH of France; for, after the failure to found a colony in Brazil, he turned his attention to the eastern shores of North America, the whole of which had become known to France, — from DENYS, 1506, to VERRAZZANO, in 1534, and subsequent explorers, CARTIER, ROBERVAL, DU MONTS, and especially the Spanish expeditions. He accordingly planned and fitted out the expedition of JEAN DE RIBAUT, in 1562, to found a colony of French Protestants (Huguenots) in the reign of CHARLES IX., and who, after founding a colony, returned to France, and wrote the above account of his expedition and description of the country, which was followed by two other expeditions under himself and M. RENÉ GOULAIN DE LAUDONIERE. (*See First Series of the Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida*, pp. 177-362.)

* The name of Cape *Breton*, in north latitude 46, is a memorial of the early French navigators. CARTIER, in 1534, found the capes and bays of Newfoundland already named by his countrymen.

† At the period when RIBAUT wrote this narrative of "the true and last discoverie of Florida," and for a century or more after, the Spaniards applied

we might certify and make you a true report of the climate, fertility, ports, havens, rivers, and generally of all the commodities that we have seen and found in that land, and also to learn what people were dwelling there, which thing you have long time ago desired, being stirred thereunto by this zeal: That France might one day, through new discoveries, have knowledge of strange countries, and also thereof to receive by traffic rich and inestimable commodities, as other nations have done by taking in hand such far voyages, both to the honor and prowess of their kings and princes, and also to the increase of profit and use to their countries and dominions, which is most of all without comparison to be considered and esteemed.

It seems well that you have been stirred hereunto even of God, and led to it by the hope and desire you have that a number of savage people, ignorant of Jesus Christ, may, by His grace, come to some knowledge of His holy laws and ordinances. So, therefore, it seems that it has pleased God, by His good providence, to rescue the care which He has had of their salvation until this time, and will bring them to our faith, by Himself, as foreordained.

For if it were needful to show how many from time to time have gone about to find out this great land and to set-

the name of Florida to all the coast line of country extending from the *St. Lawrence* to the "*Rio Grande del Norte*," which empties its waters into the *Gulf of Mexico*. It was first translated into English, in 1582, by HAKLUYT, whose black-letter volume is extremely rare, and is now, for the first time, reprinted in the United States, with notes and biographical sketch of the life of Admiral COLIGNY. It is not known to exist in the original French.

tle there, who, nevertheless, have always failed and have been thwarted in their purpose, some by fear of shipwrecks and some by great storms and tempests, that drove them back, to their marvelous grief. Of the which there was one, a famous stranger named SEBASTIAN GABOTTO,* an excellent pilot, sent thither by King HENRY VII. in 1498, and many others who could never attain to any habitation nor take possession thereof a foot of ground, nor yet approach or enter those fair countries or rivers into which God has brought us.

Wherefore, my Lord, it may be well said that the living God hath reserved this great country for your poor servants and subjects, as well to the end they might be made great over this poor people and rude nation, as well as to approve the former love which our kings have had for this discovery.

For the late King FRANCIS I., a prince endued with excellent virtues, sent, in the year 1524, a notable and dis-

* While COLUMBUS and other Spanish and Portuguese navigators were prosecuting their voyages in search of new countries, HENRY VII. of England, regretting his indifference regarding the offers made to him by the brothers COLUMBUS, granted JOHN and SEBASTIAN CABOT (GABOTTO), March 5, 1496, letters patent for the discovery and conquest of new lands; and in the month of June of the following year (1497), they reached the coast of Labrador, in lat. 50° N., the inhabitants of which were dressed in the skins of wild animals and armed with clubs, spears, bows, and arrows. On the 3d of February, 1498, the King granted a second patent to JOHN CABOT alone, which is important in establishing the date of the first discovery of North America by the CABOTS. In 1499 SEBASTIAN CABOT made a third voyage to America, and in this voyage he discovered Newfoundland. In all this time it was believed in Europe that these discoveries formed a part of the continent of Asia; but this error soon became manifest, in 1513, when BALBOA discovered the Pacific Ocean.

tinguished man, a Florentine, named JOHN VERRAZANI (GIOVANNI DA VERRAZZANO),* to discover and explore the western parts, as far as could be, who sailing from *Dieppe* (France) with two vessels little differing in the make and burden from those two pinnaces of the King's which your excellency hath ordained for this present expedition. In the which land they have found the elevation of the pole, in the twenty-eighth degree north latitude.

The country which he describes is good and fruitful, and of so good a climate that it is not possible to have any better; being then as yet of no man seen or discovered. But they not being able to bring to pass at this his first voyage that which he had intended, nor to arrive in any port, by numerous disappointments which commonly happen, were

* No exploring expeditions had been undertaken to the New World officially by the French government prior to 1523. All had been left to private enterprise. But in that year FRANCIS I. fitted out four ships and gave the command to GIOVANNI DA VERRAZZANO. The expedition was partly destined as a hostile cruise against the Spaniards, as well as to make new discoveries. He reached the east coast of North America in the latitude of Cape Fear about 34° N. He evidently explored the coast from Florida to Newfoundland, landed in *Chesapeake*, *New York*, and *Narragansett* bays, and afterwards explored the coasts of Maine and Newfoundland. He advanced the knowledge of the country, and gave to France some claim to an extensive territory, which she availed herself of, by establishing colonies in Canada and subsequently in Florida.

JACQUES CARTIER, of *St. Malo*, an experienced navigator, was commissioned by the King of France to fit out two ships, neither of which exceeded sixty tons burden, in the spring of 1534, with a crew not exceeding one hundred and fifty men, and in twenty days after he set sail he reached the *Gulf of St. Lawrence*. He coasted Newfoundland as far as Cape Ray, and landing at a point of land between *Chaleur* Bay and Cape de Rosiers, he took ceremonial possession of the country around in the name of FRANCIS I., and on the 24th of July he erected

compelled to return into France; where, after his arrival, he never ceased to make suit until he was sent again, where at last he died.

The which occasion gave small courage to send thither again another expedition, which was the cause that this laudable enterprise was postponed till 1534, at which time his Majesty, FRANCIS I., sent thither a pilot of *St. Maloes*, a Breton, named JAMES CARTIER, well versed in the art of navigation, and especially of the north parts, commonly called the New Land (Newfoundland), led by some hope to find a passage that goes to the South Seas; who being not able at first to bring anything to pass, that he hoped to do, was sent thither again, the following year, and likewise Le Sire ROBERALL;* and, as it is well known, they did occupy

a cross with a shield bearing the arms of France. On the 25th of July he set sail for France, and arrived at *St. Malo* on the 5th of September, 1534.

CARTIER found his native land distracted with religious dissensions and plunged in renewed war with CHARLES V. Severe laws were decreed against the Protestants. Scaffolds were erected, and penal fires lighted up in all parts of France. Amid the din of defensive war and intestine trouble, the existence of Canada was almost forgotten; and CARTIER waited for better times to return, which he afterwards effected. But the result of his several expeditions was not encouraging to the King, as no rich mineral productions had been discovered. But the pious CARTIER strove to impress upon the King the salubrity, beauty, and richness of the country, and the glory and merit of extending the blessed knowledge of the Christian religion among the heathens of the great West.

* This name must be a misprint. It was meant for FRANÇOIS DE LA ROCHE, Sieur DE ROBERVAL, who was appointed Governor of Canada by FRANCIS I. in 1540, and who sailed for America (Canada), with emigrants, and arrived in Canada in 1542, just as war was about to recommence between CHARLES V. and FRANCIS I., which lasted about three years.

and build and plant the King's armies in the north part, a good way inland, as far as *Tundu* and *Ochisaon*. Wherefore, my Lord, believe that a thing so commendable, and worthy to be attempted, that God would keep and guide us, desiring always to fulfill your instructions.

When we had fulfilled your orders and made preparation, we, through the favor of God, departed on the 18th February, 1562, with our two vessels, out of the harbor of *Clave de Grace* (Havre de Grace), into the road *Caur* (Caux); and the next day hoisted sail, the wind being east, which lasted five days, that we could not arrive at the *Nanche* (the Manche, or English Channel), that is, from between the coast of Breton (Brittany), and England, and the Isles of Surlinos (Scilly Islands), and *Wesham* (Ushant), so that the wind blowing with great fury and tempest out of the west and south-west altogether contrary to our course, and all that we could do was of no effect, besides the great danger of losing our masts, as also to be hindered in other matters. Wherefore, as well to escape other inconvenience which might follow to the prejudice of our voyage, having regard also to the danger of death, which some of our gentlemen and soldiers, who, being troubled with fevers and other sickness they might fall into; also for other considerations, we thought it best to sail into the roads of *Brest*, in Brittany, to put our sick on land until the tempest was passed. From whence, after we had remained there two days, we went to sea again; so that, my Lord, notwithstanding the sea and winds were against us, yet at the end God

giving us, through His grace and goodness, a most favorable wind, I determined to sail a new course, which had not yet been attempted; traversing the seas of *Oction* * eighteen hundred leagues at the least, which is indeed the true and short course that hereafter must be kept to the honor of our nation, rejecting the old, which so long time hath been holden as true, which is, as it was thought, a thing impossible to have the wind at E. N. E., and keep the race and course we sailed, but that we should be driven towards Africa, the Canary Isles, Madeira, and other lands adjacent. And the cause why we have been the more provoked and assured to take this new course hath been, because it seemed to every one that we might not pass, nor go in this navigation, without the sight and touching at the Antilles and Lucayos,† and other lands adjacent, and there stop to take in fresh water and other necessities, as the Spaniards do in their voyage to New Spain: Whereof (thanks be God), we have no need, nor entered the channel of *Boham* (Bahama), which has been thought impossible.

* Supposed to be either "*Les Mers d'Occident*," the Western or Atlantic Ocean; or "*La Mer Océan*," the Main Ocean.

† Antilles—the Caribbee Islands; Lucayos—the Lucayos or Bahama Islands.

‡ This name is a misprint and must be Bahama; the passage referred to being through the old *Bahama* Channel and the *Gulf of Florida*.

CHAPTER II.



FORESEEING also that it was not expedient for us to pass through the islands, as well to shun many inconveniences that might happen in passing that way (whereof springeth nothing but innumerable quarrels, pleadings, confusions, and breach of all worthy enterprises and good navigations, whereof ensueth complaints and odious questions between the subjects of the King and his friends and allies), and also to the end they might understand that, in the time to come (God having showed us such graces as these his wonderful benefits first showed to the poor people of this good people of so gentle a nature, and a country so pleasant and fruitful, lacking nothing at all that may seem necessary for man's food), we would not have to do with their islands and other lands, which (for that they first discovered them) they keep with much jealousy; trusting that if God will suffer the King, through your persuasion, to cause some part of this incomparable country to be peopled and inhabited with such a number of his poor subjects as you shall think good, there

never happened in the memory of man so great and good commodity to France as this; and, my Lord, for many causes, whereof a man is never able to write too much, under the assured hope that we have always had in executing uprightly that which I had in charge of you, God would prosper our ways and navigation.

After we had constantly and diligently determined upon the way, we should have thought tedious to our company if it had been known unto any without turning or wavering from their first intention. And notwithstanding that Satan did often what he could to throw obstructions and troubles in our way, according to his accustomed subtilties, so it is come to pass that God, by his goodness, hath given us grace to make the greatest traverse of the sea that ever was made in the memory of man, in longitude from east to west; and, therefore, it was commonly said, both in France and Spain, and also among us, that it was impossible for us to safely arrive thither where the Lord did conduct us. Albeit, that all mariners' cards do set the coasts with shipwrecks, which we have found otherwise, as follows:

Thursday, the last of April (30th), 1562, we discovered and approached a fair coast, stretching a great length, covered with an infinite number of high and large trees, we being seven or eight leagues from the shore, the country seeming to us a plain without any appearance of hills; and, arriving within four or five leagues of the land, we cast anchor in ten fathoms of water, the bottom of the sea being covered with osiers and fast hold on the south side, as far

as a certain cape situated under the latitude of nine-and-twenty degrees and a half, which we have named Cape *François* (now called *Canaveral*).

We could neither see river nor bay, wherefore we sent our boats, manned with men of experience, to sound the coast near shore, who, returning to us about one o'clock P. M., declared that they had found, among other things, eight fathoms of water at the hard bank of the sea. Whereupon, having diligently weighed our anchors and hoisted our sails, with fair wind we sailed along the coast with unspeakable pleasure of the odorous perfume and beauty of the scene.

And because there appeared unto us no appearance of any port, about the setting of the sun we cast anchor again; which done, we did behold to and fro the goodly order of the woods, wherewith God had decked every way the said land. Then perceiving toward the north a leaping and breaking of the water, as a stream falling out of the land into the sea, for which we hoisted sails again to double the same while it was yet day. And as we had so done and passed beyond it, there appeared unto us a wide entry of a fair river, which caused us to cast anchor again nearer to land, to the end, next day, that we might see what it was; and though the wind blew for a time boisterously to the shoreward, yet the hold and anchorage was so good that one cable and one anchor held us fast without danger or sliding.

The next day, in the morning, being the 1st of May, 1562, we set out with two barges and a boat well trimmed

to enter this river, which might have astonished and caused us to return to the ships if God had not speedily brought us in, where finding thirty-six fathoms of water, we entered a magnificent and great river,* which as we found it to increase in depth and width, boiling and roaring through the multitude of all kinds of fish. Having passed its mouth, we began to see a great many of the natives, who approached us without fear, pointing out to us the best landing-place, and on our part we gave them every assurance of friendship. Forthwith one of the best appearance among them, a brother of one of the kings or chiefs, who ordered one of the natives or Indians to enter the river and approach our boats to show us the best place for landing. Seeing this, and without any more doubting, we landed and rewarded him with a looking-glass and other pretty things of small value, and afterward he ran to his lord or king, who forthwith sent me his girdle, made of red leather, in token of friendship; and I began to go toward him, when he came toward me with all his men, who received me kindly and modestly; yea, more than our men did.

And after we had congratulated him kindly, we fell to the ground on our knees a short distance from them, to give thanks to God, and beseech him to continue still his goodness towards us, and bring to the knowledge of our Saviour Christ this poor people.

* This was probably the river now called *St. John's*, as there is no other near the locality which corresponds with the author's description.

While we were thus praying, they sitting upon the ground, which was strewed with bay branches, they beheld and hearkened to us attentively without speaking or moving; and as I made a sign unto their King, lifting up mine arm, and stretching forth one finger, to make them look up heavenward; he, likewise lifting up his arm towards heaven, put forth two fingers, whereby it seemed that he wished to tell us that he worshiped the Sun and Moon for their gods; as afterwards we understood it so.

In the meantime their number increased, and thither came the King's brother who was first with us, then the sisters, wives, and children, and being thus assembled, they caused a great many bay boughs cut, and therewith a place too dressed for us, distant from theirs two fathom; for it is their manner to talk and bargain sitting; and the chief or king to be separated from the common people; with a show of great obedience to their kings, elders, and superiors.

They are all naked, of good stature, well shapen of body as any people in the world; very gentle, courteous, and good-natured. The most part of them cover their waists and privities with hart (deer) skins painted with a variety of colors; and the forepart of their bodies and arms they also paint with pretty devices in azure, red, and black, so well and properly, that the best painters of Europe could not amend (do) better.*

* "Dwelling under warm skies," says JONES on the antiquities of the Southern Indians, "the Southern Indians passed the greater part of the year in a state of almost entire nudity, and delighted in painting their bodies with the most

The women have their bodies covered with a certain herb, like unto moss, whereof the cedar and other trees are always covered. The men also trim themselves after sundry fashions. They are of tawny color, hawked nosed, and of pleasant countenance. The women are well formed, and will not suffer any one to approach too near them. But we were not in their houses, nor were we near any of them.

After we tarried on the north side of the river (which we have called *May*, because we discovered it on the first day of May), for the most part of the day, we made alliance and entered into amity with them, and presented the King and his brethren with garments of blue cloth variegated with yellow *fleur de luce*. And they seemed sorry when we took our departure, so that most of them went into the water up to their necks to set our boats afloat, putting into them different kinds of fish,* which they took from their weirs, built in the water with great reeds, so well and cunningly set together after the fashion of a labyrinth, with many turns and crooks, which it was impossible to construct without much skill and industry.

But desiring to spend the rest of the day on the other

brilliant colors they could command; and both men and women covered their arms and bodies with ornaments of gold jewelry, pearls, beads, shells, etc., and when the grave opened to receive them, these prized possessions were deposited with them. The *tumuli* of the South are now the storehouses from whence are obtained these ornaments" (as well as fine specimens of Indian pottery).

* "Trout, mullets, perch, bass, and a variety of other fish different from ours." (See Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, p. 178, Vol. I., New Series.)

side of the river, to become acquainted with those Indians we saw, we went there without any difficulty, and landed amongst them, who received us gently and kindly, giving us of their fruits—mulberries, raspberries, and other fruits they found in their way. Soon after this came the King with his brethren, and others, with bows and arrows in their hands, with their behavior soldierlike and warlike and bold as may be. They were naked and painted as the others; their hair was long and trussed up, with a lace made of herbs, to the top of their heads, but they had neither their children nor wives with them.

After we had lovingly entertained and presented them with like gifts of haberdashery wares, cutting hooks, and hatchets, and clothed the King and his brethren with like robes as we had given to them on the other side, we entered and explored their country thereabouts, which is the fairest, fruitfulest, and pleasantest of all the world, abounding in honey, venison, wild game, forests, woods of all sorts, cypress, magnolia, cedar, palms, and bays the highest and greatest; and vines with grapes, which without art and man's help or trimming will grow to the tops of the oaks and other trees of great height. And the sight of the fair meadows is a pleasure not able to be expressed with speech; full of herons, bitterns, curlews, mallards, geese, woodcocks, and other small birds; with harts, hinds, bucks, swine, and other kind of wild beasts which we saw by their tracks, and afterwards in other places by their cries and howling at night.

Also we saw conies and hares; silkworms in great number,

and a great deal larger and better than our silkworms. To conclude, it is marvelous to think of the things seen there, and the incomparable land which never yet has been plowed, that brings forth according to the first nature wherewith the Eternal God hath indued it.

About their houses, they labor and till the ground, sowing their fields with a grain called maize, whereof they make their meals; and in their grounds they plant beans, gourds, citrons, cucumbers, peas, and many other fruits and roots unknown to us. Their spades and mattocks are made of wood so well and fitly as it is possible, which they make with certain stones, oyster shells and mussels, with which they also make their bows and arrows and short lances, and cut and polish all sorts of wood that they employ about their buildings. They also grow many walnut-trees, hazel and cherry trees, very fair and large.

And generally we have seen the same simples and herbs in France, and of the like goodness and flavor. The people here are of great strength and good archers. The strings to their bows are made of leather, and their arrows are of reed, which they head with the teeth of fish. As we now demand of them concerning the country we call *Sivola** (*Cibola*),

* The correct form of this name appears to be *Sibola* or *Cibola*, which is the name of an Indian district, or province, on the river *Gila*, about one thousand miles north-west from Mexico. The attention of the Spaniards was first directed towards it by a missionary named MARCOS DE NIÇA, who, in the year 1539, penetrated into this unconquered region; and, on his return to Mexico, gave such a glowing description of its wealth and population, and also its seven great cities, that an expedition was fitted out to conquer the country under

whereof some have written not to be far thence, and be some leagues situate within the land, and toward the sea they called the *South*, where they might go thither with their boats, by rivers, in twenty days. They that have written of this kingdom and town of *Sivola*, and other towns and kingdoms thereabouts, say that there is a great abundance of gold and silver, precious stones, and other great riches, and that the people had their arrows headed with iron, and sharp-pointed turquoises. Thus, the night approaching, it was necessary for us to return on shipboard. We accordingly took leave of them, much to their grief, but more to ours, for we had no one to (pilot) enter the rivers with our ships.

It was not their custom either to eat or drink from sunrise till sunset : yet the King openly would needs drink with us, praying us to give him the cup whereout we had drunk ; and so, making him to understand that we would see him again next day, we retired to our ships, which lay about six leagues from the haven to the sea.

the command of RODRIGO DEL RIO, the Governor of New Biscay, without much success. Recent explorations, however, in Arizona, by military expeditions of United States troops, confirm in part the existence of those cities. The names by which they are now most widely known, are *Oryina*, *She-bo-pav-wee*, *She-pa-la-wee*, *Mee-shom-o-neer*, *Moqui*, *Mo-guee-nah*, and *To-wah*, still inhabited by the descendants of the Aztecs, who were driven out of Mexico by CORTÉZ. Their government is a conservative republic. Power is vested in thirteen caciques, or chiefs. Suffrage is universal, and the people are far advanced in civilization.

CHAPTER III.



HE next morning we returned to land again, accompanied with the captain's gentlemen, and soldiers, and other persons, carrying with us a pillar or column of hard stone, with the King's arms engraved thereon, to plant and set the same at the entry of the port, in some high place, where it might be easily seen ; and being come thither before the Indians were assembled, we discovered, on the south side of the river, a place very suitable for the purpose, upon a little hill, compassed with cypress, bays, palms, and other trees, with sweet-smelling and pleasant shrubs, in the middle whereof we planted the first boundary or limit of his Majesty.

This done, perceiving our first Indians assembling, not without showing some dislike of those on the south side, where we had set the limit, tarried for us in the same place where they met with us the day before, seeming to us there was some enmity between them and others. But when they perceived our long stay on this side, they ran to see what we had done in that place, where we landed first, and had

set our limit. They viewed it a great while without touching it in any way, or ever speaking to us about it at any time after. Howbeit we could scarcely depart from them without great grief, and they continued to follow us along the river from all parts, presenting us with hart skins, painted and unpainted; meal, little cakes, fresh water, roots like rinbabe (rhubarb), which they hold in great estimation, and make use of for medicine. They also brought to us bags of red colors, and some small spices like unto vire, perceiving among them fair things painted as it had been with grains of scarlet, showing unto us they had in their land gold, silver, and copper, of which we bought some; also lead, turquoises, and great abundance of pearls, which they told us they took out of oysters along the river side; and as fair pearls as are found in any country of the world. For we saw on one of their men, as we entered our boats, a pearl hanging to a collar of gold about his neck, as great as an acorn. This man, as fast as he had taken fish in one of their fishing packs (weirs), brought them to our boats; and one of our men, perceiving the great size thereof, and pointing his finger towards it, the Indian drew back, and would not come near our boats for fear that if he did we would take his collar and pearl from him, but which he would have given us for a looking-glass or a knife. He was one of the best-looking men of all the company. The day being well gone, which grieved us very much, for the commodity of great riches to be obtained here, and desiring to employ the rest of the day with the Indians on the south side, which we talked with the day

before, who still remained to look at us, we crossed the river to their shore, where we found them patiently waiting for us quietly, and in good order, with new paintings upon their faces, and feathers upon their heads.

The King, with his bow and arrows lying by him, sat on the ground, covered with green boughs, among his followers, who were fine-looking and well-formed men, very active, and having upon their heads their hair trussed up, gathered, and worked together with great cunning, and fastened after the form of a diadem. One of them had, hanging about his neck, a round plate of red copper, well polished, with a smaller one of silver hung in the middle of it; and on his ears a small plate of copper, with which they wipe the sweat from their bodies.

They pointed to us there was a great store of this metal in the country, about five or six days' journey from thence, both on the south and north side of this river, which they went thither in their boats to collect, which boats they make of one piece of a tree, working on it so cunningly that they can put in these boats fifteen or twenty men.

When they row, they stand up, having short oars, after the fashion of a peel; and being thus among them, they gave us meal dressed and baked, good and well-tasted; also beans and fish, crabs, lobsters, crevices, and many other kind of good fish, and showing us their dwellings afar off. The night now approaching, we returned to our ships with much sorrow, for we durst not hazard our ship, by reason of a bar of sand that was at the mouth of the river, notwith-

standing at full tide there were at least two fathoms and a half of water, and is but a leap over a surge to pass this bar, not passing two cables in length, and then afterwards six or seven fathoms of water everywhere ; so that it made a very fair haven, and ships from four to six hundred tons may enter therein at all floods, yea, of a far greater burden, if there were Frenchmen that might pilot the entry as they do in France.

The situation is in thirty degrees north latitude, a good climate, healthful, good temperature, delightfully pleasant, the natives of a good and amiable disposition, who willingly obey, yea, content to serve those that shall, with gentleness and humanity, go about to win them, as it is needful for those that be sent thither hereafter so to do, and as I have charged those that be left there to do, to the end that they may ask and learn of them where they get their gold, copper, and turquoises, and other things yet unknown to us, by reason of the short time we remained there ; for if any rude or rigorous means should be used towards these people, they would fly hither and thither through the forests and country, and abandon their habitations.

The next day, being the 3d of May (1562), being desirous to find out harbors to anchor in, we hoisted sail again, and after we had ranged the coast as near shore as we could, there appeared unto us, about seven leagues on this side of the river *May*, a great opening or bay of some river, whither we sent one of our boats, and there found one entry almost like the river *May*, and within the same of as great

depth, and as large, and dividing itself into great streams stretching towards the highlands, with many others of less size, which divide the country into beautiful and great lands, and small and fair meadows.

Having entered about three leagues, we found a place commodious, strong, and pleasant of situation, and certain Indians who received us friendly. Nevertheless, we approached so near their houses, it seemed to offend them, and that we went there contrary to their wish, for at the noise and cries they made, their wives and children escaped into the woods with all their household goods. We afterwards went to their houses, but none of the natives would accompany us.

Their houses are made of wood, fitly and closely set up, and covered with reeds, the most part after the fashion of a pavilion. But there was one house among the rest very long and wide, with seats round about made of reeds nicely put together, which serve both for beds and seats, two feet high from the ground, set upon round pillars painted red, yellow, and blue, and neatly polished. Some of these people observed at a distance that we did not, in any manner, injure their dwellings nor gardens; they returned to us before our leaving, seeming well satisfied, and gave us water, fruits, and hart's skins.

It is a place of wonderful fertility, and the ground so rich that it is likely that it would bring forth wheat and corn twice a year; and similar and like unto the land we found upon the river *May*. Without coming into the sea, this arm

doth divide and make many other Isles of May, as also many great islands, by which we travel from one island to another, between land and land; and it seems that men may sail without danger through all the country, and never enter the great ocean, which is a great advantage.

This is the land of *Checere*,* whereof some have written, and may have explored for the great riches they perceived by some Indians to be found there. It is in so good a climate that none of our men, though we were there in the hottest season of the year, the sun entering Cancer, were troubled with any sickness. The people there live long and in great health and strength, so that the old men go without staves, and are able to go and run like the youngest, and are only known by the wrinkles in their face, and decay of sight.

We departed from them very friendly, and with their consent. But the night overtaking us, we were compelled to lie in our ships all that night till it was day, floating upon this river, which we have called the *Seine*, because the entry of it is as broad as from *Havre de Grace* to *Honfleur*.

At the break of day we espied, out of the south side, one of the most pleasant meadow grounds that might be seen, into which we went, finding at the very entry a long, fair, and great lake, and an innumerable number of footsteps of the great harts and hinds, their steps being all fresh and new, and it seemeth that the people nourish them like tame

* The adjacent district to *Broad* river, of *Port Royal*, South Carolina, now called *St. Helena*, is the *Chichora* (*Checere* of *Ribault*) of the old Spanish maps.

cattle, in great herds ; for we saw the steps of Indians who followed them.

The channel and depth of the river *Seine* is on that side of the meadow which is in the Isle of May ; and after returning to our ships we continued to sail along the coast as near the shore as we could, to know more and more of the coast. And after we had sailed six or seven leagues more, there appeared unto us another bay, where we cast anchor, and, stopping all night, in the morning we went thither, and finding by our sounding at the entry many banks, we durst not enter there with our great ship, having named the river *Somme*,* which is eight nine, ten, eleven fathoms deep, dividing itself into many great islands and small meadow grounds and pastures, and everywhere the greatest abundance of fish ; and on the north-west side there is a great river that cometh from the country of great extent, and another on the east side, which return into the sea.

So that, my Lord, it is a country full of havens, rivers, and islands of such fertility as cannot with tongue be expressed ; and where, in short time, great and precious commodities might be found. And, besides this, we discovered seven great rivers more, cutting and dividing the land into fair and great islands.

* The river *Somme* appears to correspond most with the river *St. Illa* and *Fykill* or *St. Andrew's Sound*.

CHAPTER IV.



THE Indian inhabitants there are all alike in appearance and manners, and the country in fertility apt and extensive throughout to bear and bring forth abundantly all that men would sow and plant upon it. There are everywhere the highest and greatest pine trees that can be seen, good smelling, and where might be gathered, cutting only the bark, as much rosin, turpentine, and frankincense as men would desire. Wherefore, being not able to enter and lie with our great vessels there, we could not remain any longer, nor enter far into the rivers and countries as we would have desired, for it is well known how many accidents have happened unto men attempting new discoveries, but also in all places by leaving their great vessels in the sea, far from land. As for the other rivers, we have given them the following names; and to the islands adjoining them the same name that the next river hath, as you will see by the maps or sea-cards (charts) that I have made thereof. As to the fourth, the name of *Loire*; to the fifth, *Charnet*; to the sixth, *Caro*;

to the seventh, *Belle*; to the eighth, *Grande*; to the ninth, *Port Royal*; and to the tenth, *Belle Voir*.*

Upon Whitsunday, the 27th of May, 1562, after we had considered that there was no remedy but to endeavor to find a harbor for our ships, as well as to overhaul and trim them, as well as to get fresh water, wood, and other necessities, whereof we were of the opinion there was no fitter place than *Port Royal*, and when we had sounded the channel, thanked be God, we entered safely therein with our ships, against the opinion of many, finding the same one of the greatest and fairest of the greatest havens of the world.

Howbeit, it must not be forgotten, that in approaching it within seven leagues of the land, that on the east side, drawing towards the south-east, the land is flat, nevertheless, at a full sea-tide there is everywhere four fathoms of water keeping in the channel.

* The names of these rivers, as given by LAUDONNIERE, in his history of the first discovery and settlement of Florida, published in the first volume of the Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, new series, 1869, are *Loire*, *Charente*, *Garonne*, *Gironde*, *Belle*, *Grande*, and the last, *Bellevoir*. No indications are given in the text by which these seven rivers can be distinguished at the present day. More than one writer has offered *conjectures* on this point. The same remark will apply to the two rivers named respectively, by M. RIBAUT, *Libourne* and *Chenonceau*. The latter is probably *Archer's* or *Scull Creek*, about six miles from the present town of *Beaufort*. The rivers discovered by RIBAUT may perhaps correspond to those known to us at present, and the following may be a correct classification of them, viz.: *May* to the *St. John's*; *Seine*, the *St. Mary's*; *Somme*, the *Satilla*; *Loire*, the *Altamaha*; *Charante*, the *Newport*; *Garonne*, the *Ogechee*; *Gironde*, the *Savannah*; *Belle (voir)*, the *May*, in South Carolina; *Grande*, the *Broad*; *Port Royal*, the *Port Royal*. The *Broad* river, says CARDENAS, "Ensayo Chronologico de la Florida," is the *Jordan* of South Carolina, and also by VASQUEZ DE AYLLON, who visited it in 1520.

In this part there are many rivers, some large and some small, where, without danger, the greatest ships of the world may be harbored, and where we saw no Indians inhabiting thereabouts. The port and river is nearly ten or twelve leagues up in the country, although it is one of the most fruitful countries that ever was seen, and where nothing lacketh, and also as good as can be found in other places.

Here we found a great number of pepper-trees, the pepper yet green, and not ready to be gathered. Also the best water in the world, and so great a variety of fishes that you may take them without net or fishing-rod, as many as you will. Also an innumerable variety of wild game; and on the north-east and east side of the small islands there are bushes of grapes which one may gather and carry away.

There are also to be seen a great number of herons, bitterns, curlews, and small birds. We found the Indians here more suspicious than others we had seen before; yet after we had been with them in their houses, and showed them courtesies, and leaving with them knives, beads, and looking-glasses, which they admire and esteem above pearls and gold to give to their wives and children, they became less suspicious.

For some of them came to our boats, of which we took two of them on board our ships, clothing and using them as kindly as possible. But they ceased not day nor night to lament, and at length they ran away. Although I was willing to bring some of them with us, according to your wishes on behalf of yourself and the Princes, yet I forbore

to do so, for many considerations and reasons, for we were in doubt that, leaving some of our men to settle in their country, the men, women, and children would not have ceased to pursue them till they returned to their country.

This is the river *Jordan*,* in my opinion, whereof so much has been spoken, which is very fair, and the country good, both for the convenience of habitation, and also for many other things which would be too long to write.

On the 30th of May we planted another column or pillar, engraved with the King's arms, on the south side, on high ground, at the entrance of a great river, which we called *Libourne*, where there is a lake of fresh water very good, and on the same side, a little lower down towards the entrance of the harbor, is one of the fairest fountains that a man may drink of, which rushes down to the river from a high bank † out of a red sandy soil, and yet, for all that, fruitful and good air, where it would seem that some Indians have fair houses.

There we saw fair and great vines, with grapes hanging in

* The *Broadriver* of *Port Royal*, South Carolina. "The nearest river," says BRIGSTOCK, who traveled in Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, in 1623, to Virginia, "was the *Jordan*, which lies in thirty-two degrees north latitude, from whence twenty leagues farther south is the promontory of *St. Helena*, near *Port Royal* where the French began their settlement. Between the *Jordan* and *St. Helena* are *Oristanum* and *Cayuga*; *Oristanum* lying four leagues from *Cayuga*. From *St. Helena* to *Dos Baxos* is five leagues, and from thence to Bay *Asapo* is three leagues; thence to *Capula*, eight leagues; thence to *Alcamy* is twenty-three leagues, and to *San Matteo* (now called *St. John's* river) fifty-two leagues."

† Probably *Hilton Head*, where in after years (1863) the batteries of the Southern Confederacy fired upon the war ships of the United States of America.

large clusters, and large and small trees ; which country seemeth to be the pleasantest and convenient for settlement. Wherefore, my Lord, trusting that you will not think it amiss, considering the commodities that may be sent from thence, if we leave a number of men there, to fortify and provide themselves with necessary things ; for in all new discoveries the chiefest thing to be done is to fortify and people the country. I had no sooner proposed to make a settlement there, than a large number with good feelings consented, and we had much to do to restrain them from their importunity. Especially many of our shipmasters and principal pilots and others we could not spare. Nevertheless, we left there thirty gentlemen, soldiers and mariners, and at their own request and prayer, and by the advice of the gentlemen sent on behalf of the Prince and yourself.* And having left

* The political state of affairs in France at the time of RIBAUT's return prevented any further attention being directed towards this colony until 1564. But on the return of peace, M. LAUDONNIERE was sent with three ships to carry succors to the infant colony. He arrived on the coast of Florida on the 22d of June, 1564, and, finding the settlement at *Charlesfort* abandoned, he selected another spot for the colony near the mouth of the river *May*, now called *St. John*, where he erected a fort and gave it the name of *Fort Carolin*, in honor of CHARLES IX. of France. He afterwards wrote a history of the Colonization of Florida, which is printed in the first volume of the new series of the "Historical Collection of Louisiana and Florida," 1869. It is somewhat remarkable that several of the primitive North American colonies were settled by people who repaired to them on account of religious oppression at home. New England was colonized by Puritans exiled by Royal and Episcopal tyranny. Virginia was replenished by Cavaliers and Episcopal fugitives from Republican and Puritan ascendancy ; while Maryland was founded by Catholics, who had left England and Ireland to escape Protestant intolerance ; and had the French Protestants

Captain ALBERT DE LA PIERRIA, an officer of experience, the first that offered to establish a settlement, and further, by their advice and choice fortified themselves on the north side of an island,* upon a place of strong situation, upon a river which we named *Chenonceau*, and named the fort *Charlesfort*.

After I had instructed and duly admonished them of what they should do, as well for their manner of proceeding and good behavior of the colony, on the 9th day of June, 1562, we set sail from *Port Royal* and sailed along the coast to the fortieth degree of north latitude. And forasmuch as there came upon us stormy and cloudy weather, and very uncomfortable for us, and considering, amongst other things, that we had lost our cables, which is the principal thing for them who go to discover new countries, where continually, both night and day, they must lie at anchor; also our provisions being damaged, and lack of boatswains to direct our barges, and have our ships supplied. The statement made by our pilots and some others that had been at some places where we purposed to visit, and the danger also and inconvenience that might happen to us, and by reason of the great fogs on the sea, that had already come, we concluded it was too late in the season to undertake this thing. And having weighed and considered also that it was important and

succeeded in Florida and South Carolina, those States would also have been among the number which religious intolerance had forced into existence.

* It is generally supposed that *Charlesfort* was constructed on this island, named in old Spanish maps "*Santa Cruz*," and near the present beautiful town of *Beaufort*, one of the oldest settlements in North America.

necessary that your Lordship should with diligence be informed of the result of the voyage, and through the help of God we returned directly home, to render an account of our voyage.

Praying God may please to keep your Lordship in good health, etc.

On his arrival in France, RIBAUT found the country in a state of great commotion. The civil war between the Huguenots and the Catholics was raging, and neither the King nor COLIGNY had time to listen to RIBAUT's solicitations to send relief to the colonists left in French Florida. These colonists remained, therefore, during the remainder of 1562-3, without assistance from France; and, after many trials and sufferings, they were at last forced to abandon their settlement and return to France.

At the close of 1563 peace was concluded between the Catholics and Protestants, and COLIGNY reminded the King of the colony left among the savages on a wild coast, and laid before him a plan for another expedition for their relief. Thereupon, three vessels, with permission of the King (CHARLES IX.), were fitted out, under the command of Captain RENÉ DE LAUDONNIERE, one of Captain RIBAUT's officers on the first expedition, with instructions to make an accurate description and map of the country.

The expedition was joined by several young noblemen of France, who equipped themselves at their own expense. Some veteran soldiers were added, and two of the most celebrated French mariners of the age, the brothers M. and T. LE VASSEUR, as pilots, and the fleet arrived in Florida June 22, 1564. Taking into consideration that "*Port Royal*," where RIBAUT had established his colony in 1562, was not a desirable place, he proceeded to the river *May* (*St. John's*), took possession of that country in the name of his sovereign, and built a fort, which he called, in honor of CHARLES IX., "*La Carolin*," and sent a report of his proceedings to Admiral COLIGNY.

In the following year, after many delays, another expedition was fitted out under the command of Captain RIBAUT, consisting of seven ships with provisions, manned by several hundred soldiers, to give relief and found a complete colony, and arrived off the mouth of the river *May* August 27, 1565. Meanwhile, the Spanish government had been apprised of the expedition of RIBAUT, and dispatched an expedition under Don PEDRO MENENDEZ DE AVILES to drive the colonists out of Florida, and take possession of the country, which by right of first discovery, as well as for other reasons, was claimed to be a part of the Spanish dominions; and on the arrival of the Spanish fleet, without giving any warning, at once made show of an attack, and the French fleet finding resistance impossible, as Captain RIBAUT was then paying a visit to the colony, the commander set sail for the open sea to watch the movements of the commander of the Spanish fleet, who set sail to take refuge in the harbor of *St. Augustine*. Meanwhile, RIBAUT rejoined his fleet and set sail to attack the Spaniards, but before he could reach them, the French fleet were wrecked in a storm and drove ashore not far from *Matanzas Inlet*, where those who effected a landing were barbarously butchered by the orders of Don PEDRO MENENDEZ ADELANTADO, of Florida; and, in the summer of 1567, he returned to Spain to make report of his grand achievements, and to receive the promised rewards from the King for the capture of "Fort Carolin," on the river *May*, and the massacre of the almost defenseless garrison, and expulsion of the French from Florida.

See Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, new series, pp. 178-324; Collections of the Maine Historical Society, p. 432. The Narratives of Mendoza and Solis are printed in this volume.